

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 119870
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USINT BAGHDAD IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY KUWAIT PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI PRIORITY
USINT HAVANA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 119870

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, PORG, IZ, AF

SUBJECT: IRAQI DILEMMA IN THE HORN

REFS: (A) BAGHDAD 931 (NOTAL), (B) BAGHDAD 980 (NOTAL)

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 119870

1. IRAQI CONCERNS OVER THE GROWING SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE
IN THE HORN AND THEIR APPREHENSION THAT THE SOVIETS WILL BE
SEEKING A PERMANENT PRESENCE ON THE RED SEA (BAGHDAD 931)
PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR USEFUL EXPLOITATION. THE IRAQIS
APPARENTLY HAVE ALSO VOICED THEIR CONCERNS TO CERTAIN SOVIET
BLOC COUNTRIES. WE WANT TO DEVISE AND CARRY OUT A STRATEGY

WHICH MIGHT NURTURE THESE IRAQI CONCERNS IN A WAY THAT WOULD BRING ABOUT GREATER RESISTANCE WITHIN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST GENERALLY TO SOVIET/ CUBAN MOVES IN THE HORN.

2. IT CLEARLY COULD BE HELPFUL TO OUR INTERESTS IF THE IRAQIS BEGAN TO SHARE THEIR CONCERNS MORE OPENLY AND MORE DIRECTLY DURING THE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN HAVANA OR IN THE PREPARATORY MEETINGS IN ADVANCE OF THE GA'S SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. BECAUSE YOU HAVE INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT IRAQ WILL RESIST DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUE AT THE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE, WE MIGHT HAVE TO FIND A STRATEGY THAT WILL PRODUCE RESULTS OVER THE LONGER RUN.

3. OUR VIEW IS THAT THE U.S. IS SEEN WITH SUCH SUSPICION IN BAGHDAD THAT WE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DO MUCH WITH THE IRAQIS DIRECTLY, ALTHOUGH FROM TIME TO TIME WE OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO PRESENT THE IRAQIS IN A MATTER-OF-FACT FASHION WITH DESCRIPTIONS OF THE U.S. POSITION AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS AS WE SEE THEM. WORKING THROUGH THIRD PARTIES TO NURTURE IRAQI CONCERNS PROBABLY IS A MORE PROMISING AVENUE, AND WE ARE CONSIDERING WHETHER WE MIGHT URGE THE IRANIANS AND KUWAITIS, AMONG OTHERS, TO SHARE WITH THE IRAQIS THEIR OWN VIEWS.

4. WE WOULD WELCOME ANY THOUGHTS YOU AND INFO ADDRESSEES
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 119870

MIGHT HAVE IN CARRYING OUT SUCH A STRATEGY AND WHICH THIRD PARTIES, SUCH AS THE FRENCH, WE MIGHT USE INDIRECTLY IN AN EFFECTIVE WAY.

5. WE WONDER WHETHER SPREADING THE WORD THAT THE IRAQIS ACQUIESCED IN THE SOVIET AIRLIFT WOULD BE A USEFUL PART OF THIS STRATEGY (BAGHDAD 980). THE AIRLIFT HAS LARGELY BEEN REPLACED BY A SEALIFT. WHILE IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN USEFUL AT AN EARLIER STAGE TO HAVE TRIED TO EMBARRASS THE IRAQIS INTO NOT ACQUIESCING IN THE AIRLIFT OVER IRAQI TERRITORY, WE DOUBT THAT POTENTIAL IRAQI EMBARRASSMENT AT THIS STAGE WOULD PAY REWARDS. THE IRAQIS ALSO COULD DEFEND THEIR ACTION, EVEN TO THEMSELVES, AS HAVING BEEN INVOLVED WITH THE OGADEN, WHICH IRAQI OFFICIAL SAID TO YOU WAS AN AMBIGUOUS SITUATION. FROM OUR VIEWPOINT, THE IRAQIS ARE NOW ON THE RIGHT TRACK--AND ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE WIDER IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOVIET/CUBAN ACTIONS--AND WE SHOULD GIVE THEM NO REASON TO PAUSE. VANCE

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